DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 409 395 UD 031 785

AUTHOR Hones, Donald F.
TITLE Resourcefulness, Relationship, Respect: Learning from the Life of a Hmong American.
SPONS AGENCY Spencer Foundation, Chicago, Ill.
PUB DATE 28 Mar 97
NOTE 31p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Chicago, IL, March 24-28, 1997).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Acculturation; Adjustment (to Environment); *Asian Americans; Cultural Awareness; *Cultural Differences; Foreign Countries; *Hmong People; *Immigrants; *Interpersonal Relationship; Laotians; Life Events; Refugees
IDENTIFIERS Resource Utilization; *Respect

ABSTRACT

The experiences of a Hmong man from Laos who has spent 15 years in the United States illustrate the possibilities of being both Hmong and American and demonstrate the acculturation process even as they show what it means to become American. The three values of resourcefulness, relationship, and respect are an integral part of the identity of Shou Cher as Hmong and as an American. Shou Cher left Laos for refugee camps in Thailand with his family in 1979 and subsequently settled in the United States, where he is employed as a community liaison and bilingual staff member at an elementary school. In addition, he is a minister in an evangelical Christian church and a community activist with a special interest in intergenerational conflict among the Hmong. Father of seven school-age children, Shou Cher is an active member of his Hmong clan council. Interviews with Shou Cher himself and with other informants paint a picture of daily life, in which he has displayed great resourcefulness in dealing with difficulties, and in which relationships are central. By showing respect for Hmong traditions and his new religion and culture, Shou Cher provides an example for a new generation of Americans who must look beyond their own traditions to an increasingly diverse society. (Contains 52 references.) (SLD)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 409 395

Resourcefulness, Relationship, Respect: Learning from the Life of a Hmong American

by Donald F. Hones
Michigan State University
honesdon@pilot.msu.edu

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Donald F. Hones

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, Illinois, March 28, 1997

TM026064
UD031785

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge the generous support of the AERA Spencer Pre-Dissertation Fellowship program and the helpful suggestions on drafts of this work from colleagues at Michigan State University and elsewhere.

Resourcefulness, Relationship, Respect: Learning from the Life of a Hmong American

by Donald F. Hones

Shou Cher remembers. He sees the young boy, walking quietly through the jungle, hunting squirrels and monkeys with a crossbow. He sees the red, the yellow, the purple flowers blooming on the mountain walls of Laos. He listens: Far off are the sounds of war, a land mine exploding, killing a brother, American bombs dropping along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, then a silence. He sees quiet figures of refugees moving through the shadows of night, heading for the Mekong River and an unknown future. He remembers the faces of Hmong warriors, America's "secret army" in Laos, now unwilling captives inside Thai refugee camps. He hears the sound of the shaman's prayer now challenged by the preaching of the missionaries, and the strange sounds of a new language he must learn: "Good morning. Please take a seat." He remembers getting on the "bus to America," and the "plane to America," and eventually, getting to America. He sees the young father working three jobs, trying desperately to keep a growing family and extended relatives together in a new land. He sees the father holding a baby and watching six other children while the mother works at a factory. He sees himself and his wife, tired from their various jobs, yet encouraging their children to learn English, to study hard, and to never forget the important traditions of their family, clan and people.

He is Hmong from Laos, and that is an essential aspect of Shou Cher's identity. Yet, over the course of fifteen years of life in the Midwest he is also becoming an American. For Shou Cher, being Hmong *and* American is both possible and desirable: It means a sense of communal support for himself and his family, and an important addition to the American cultural landscape. Shou Cher speaks:

> *Many different peoples live in the same town*
> *black, brown, yellow.*
> *If they look a certain way, they have*
> *their own community.*
> *I don't deny it.*
> *It is good to serve your own community.*
> *Please do your best for them.*
> *But then you should*

treat others nicely, too.
Black, white, brown, yellow:
We are the same people.
We are different in skin only,
but we are all human.
We are the same, created by God,
one creator,
and it is very beautiful.
Different colors, and very beautiful.

In this paper I will describe some of my life history research with Shou Cher, a Hmong American. I begin with a brief description of the field of narrative inquiry, and some of the important methodological and ethical questions raised by this type of research. Next, I will elaborate three themes that arise from the narrative of Shou's educational life which I have organized around three values: resourcefulness, relationship, and respect. These three values, I will argue, are an integral part of Shou Cher's *identity* as a Hmong and as an American.[1] Finally, I suggest some lessons which researchers, educators and policymakers might learn from such a life history of a new American.

Narrative Inquiry

There is an increasing use of narrative inquiry within the broader field of educational research. Phillips (1994) traces the history of educational inquiry from naturalistic social science to hermeneutics to narratives, a history marked by "the gradual erosion of the positivist model of man...and the struggle to replace it with a model that more adequately reflects what we humans take to be the nature of ourselves as thinking, feeling, and sometimes rational creatures"(14). Much importance in qualitative research today is placed on meaning-making and folk psychology (Bruner, 1990). Bellah, et al. (1985) suggest that social science, when utilizing interpretive methods, can become "a form of self-understanding or self-interpretation" as it "seeks to relate the stories scholars tell to the stories current in the society at large" (301) The

[1] The difficulty in defining *identity* today stems in part from two disparate ways of conceptualizing the term which were popularized in the social sciences in the 1950s. For Erikson (1950), identity was a process located in the core of the individual and also in the core of communal culture, and this process of linking the individual to the community was fundamental for the adolescent stage of human development. Sociologists of the symbolic-interactionist school differed from Erikson by suggesting that identity was socially constructed, sustained, and ever-changing. These two ways of conceptualizing identity contribute to two distinctive ways of viewing ethnicity, as either primordially given or optionally cultivated. For a useful discussion of the historical roots of debates over identity and ethnicity, see Philip Gleason, 1983, Identifying Identity: A Semantic History. The Journal of American History, 69(4), 910-931.

integration of historical, sociological, psychological and cultural perspectives to describe the lives of others allows for what Rabinow and Sullivan (1987) call the return to the hermeneutical circle, or "circle of meaning" that is a goal of interpretive social science.

Narrative research takes hermeneutics one step further by arguing that people understand their lives and explain their lives through stories, and these stories feature plots, characters, times and places. Polkinghorne (1995) argues that the narrative is "the linguistic form uniquely suited for displaying human existence as situated action" (5). Clandinin and Connelly (1994) suggest that the reconstructed stories of people's lives are a fundamental educational tool:

> People live stories, and in the telling of them reaffirm them, modify them, and create new ones...Stories...educate the self and others, including the young and those, such as researchers, who are new to their communities (415).

Moreover, noted scholars in many fields have suggested that the study of individual lives over time is indispensable for social inquiry (see, for example, Cremin, 1988; Gardner, 1994; Clausen, 1993). In anthropology Rabinow (1977) and Crapanzano (1980) have explored the difficulties and possibilities of combining life histories with cultural analysis; in psychology, life history has often been part of the study of personality development over time (White, 1952; Erikson, 1950 and 1962); and in sociology, individual life histories have been woven into community mosaics (Becker, 1970; Terkel, 1972). Such biographical work encompasses C. Wright Mills' (1959) contention that "Man is a social and an historical actor who must be understood, if at all, in close and intricate interplay with social and historical structures" (158).

In narrative research stories are what the inquirer collects, retells, and writes. Central to the construction of a narrative are time, place, character and multiple researcher "I's": "The 'I' who speaks as researcher, teacher, man or woman, commentator, research participant, narrative critic, and theory builder."(416) Greg Sarris (1993, 1994) offers an interesting viewpoint on how to represent the interaction and dialogue between a researcher and a protagonist. Sarris found that the ethnographic interviewing methods in which he was trained at Stanford University were inadequate in representing the life of Mabel McKay, a Pomo Indian medicine woman whom he had known personally since childhood. Once, when driving McKay back to the Rumsey

Reservation after her lecture at Stanford, Sarris sought her help in identifying a major theme for her life history:

> "Mabel, people want to know about things in your life in a way they can understand. You know, how you got to be who you are. There has to be a theme."
> "I don't know about no theme."
> I squirmed in my seat. Her hands didn't move. "A theme is a point that connects all the dots, ties up all the stories."
> "That's funny. Tying up all the stories. Why somebody want to do that?"
> "When you write a book there has to be a story, or idea, a theme..."
> "Well, theme I don't know nothing about. That's somebody else's rule." (Sarris, 1994:5)

Sarris reflects on what McKay's stories teach him about life and about himself, and he suggests that the goal of his work is to "chart dialogues that open and explore interpersonal and intercultural territories" (1993:5).

Denzin (1994) identifies several major research paradigms which influence the interpretation of narrative texts. One popular postpositivist interpretive style involves the use of grounded theory. As developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), grounded theory does not seek to force data to conform with existing theory, but rather develops theory and interpretive categories that are "grounded" in the data itself. For example, Ruth and Oberg (1992) used grounded theory to analyze the collected life stories of several women, grouped qualitatively similar life stories together into categories, and then labeled the categories by their dominant qualities. Thus, commonalities existing across life stories were uncovered. A constructivist interpretive style makes use of grounded theory as well as inductive data analysis and contextual interpretation. The goal of constructivist interpretation is to triangulate various data sources that are credible, transferable, dependable, and confirmable. Critical theorists use an interpretive style that seeks to engage the voices and collaboration of oppressed groups of people within the framework of a neo-Marxist cultural critique of social structures. Poststructural interpretive styles are varied, yet have certain tenets in common. Denzin makes an important distinction between positivist and post-positivist types of analysis and the analytical frameworks employed by post-structuralists. Unlike the former, post-structuralists do not rely on preconceived categories, and do not seek to

impose their theoretical frameworks. Rather, their goal is to let "the prose of the world speak for itself," and they highlight multivocality and multiple perspectives (511). Denzin's interpretive style of choice involves the organizing of life histories around "epiphanies," important, life-shaping events, using a poststructuralist interpretive framework he calls *interpretive interactionism*. This style "begins and ends with the biography and the self of the researcher," and encourages personal stories that are thickly contextualized, and "connected to larger institutional, group and cultural contexts" (510-511). Moreover, the stories presented in the text "should be given in the language, feelings, emotions, and actions of those studied" (511).

In representing and interpreting the life history of a Hmong American, I made use of the following methods drawn from narrative inquiry: Following the advice of Polkinghorne (1995), Smith 1994) and others, I chose a single protagonist and sought to develop a plot, and describe fully the setting and characters. Like Grumet (1991) and McBeth and Horne (1996), I was concerned with representing my informant's story in a respectful manner, and with including him in the process of analysis and interpretation. Furthermore, like Coles (1964) and Sarris (1994), I sought a form for this story that allowed for the representation of the dialogue between myself and my informant, and for substantial passages of my informant's "voice." Moreover, I wished to use narrative forms that engage readers aesthetically as well as critically (Brunner, 1994). My interpretation of this life history narrative had three dimensions: First, through the arrangement of the story itself, punctuated by epiphanies experienced by my informant (Polkinghorne, 1995; Denzin, 1994); secondly, through the contextualization of my informant's life within history, culture and the social milieu; and thirdly through the identification of emergent themes, drawing on a combination of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and Denzin's (1994) interpretive interactionism.

The Protagonist

Because of my experiences as a teacher of adults and as a father, I was interested in doing the biography of a parent who had children in the schools. Finally, a long-standing interest in linguistic and cultural minority communities led to my decision to look for a protagonist among

the Hmong refugee community. There is a limited but growing literature about the life experiences of the Hmong in America (see, for example, Chan, 1994; Ungar, 1995; Donnelly, 1994; and Santoli, 1988). Although I do not speak Hmong and have not visited Southeast Asia, I felt that by exploring the life of a Hmong adult, one of the newest Americans, I would learn more about the Hmong, myself, and the meaning of "being American."

Not being a member of the Hmong community, I was fortunate to have the assistance of a Hmong community liaison who worked at an elementary school where I did research. This liaison spoke with members of his community, and then suggested I talk to Mr. Cher, a new member of the bilingual staff at the school. When I met Shou later at his house, I found myself in the presence of someone with a special vitality and warmth. He was a handsome man in his mid-thirties, with dark hair, bright eyes, and a lively, expressive face. Shou was delighted to share stories about his life with me, and became an enthusiastic participant in this research.

His articulateness in English, his charisma, the multiple roles he plays in life and his receptiveness to the inquiries of a stranger made Shou Cher an ideal protagonist for life history research. Shou and I were able to have long discussions about a variety of issues, and this facilitated the greater representation of his "voice" in the text. Shou's charismatic presence in the local Hmong community facilitated my meeting with other Hmong adults and children, many of whom could be found visiting the Chers in their home in the evenings. I became aware of the variety of roles that Shou Cher played: He is a husband and father of seven school-age children; he is an active member of his clan council, working specifically on ways to heal the generational rifts in the Hmong community; he is a bilingual assistant and community liaison for a local elementary school; and he is an evangelical minister. Finally, like the various members of the Hmong community, I was always made to feel welcome in Shou's home, his church, and his workplace. Coming from our disparate linguistic and cultural backgrounds, we were able to form a friendship and converse about the new America that is coming into being.

The "outside" research I conducted was comprised largely of audio taped, semi-structured interviews and notes from participant observation. Over the course of six months I spent

frequent evenings at the Cher home, especially on Saturdays, the one night of the week Shou Cher usually had free. I also spent a few hours each week at Kallen school, interviewing, observing, and volunteering in music activities and on the playground. In addition, I also spent an afternoon as a guest at Shou's church, attending Sunday school and the service.

Interviews were conducted with several informants, principally Shou Cher, the protagonist of this life history; members of his immediate and extended family; members of his church and the Windigo Hmong community, and his coworkers and employers at the Kallen school. Because I am unable to communicate in Hmong, the first language of many of my informants, all interviews were conducted in English. When necessary, Shou Cher, who has strong communication skills in four languages, has helped interpret for me, especially when I was a guest at his church.

Interpreting data collected from interviews, participant observation, artifacts and library research in order to craft an educational life history is always problematic, but moreso when one's protagonist has very different cultural and linguistic practices than one's own. By taking seriously the dialogical (Bakhtin, 1981) relationship between myself, my informants, and our subject matter, I sought to overcome any initial hesitation on the part of my informants. However, dialogue, encompassing the sharing of stories, information, and interpretation between informant and researcher, raises Clifford's (1988) intriguing question, "Who is actually the author of field notes" (45)? Subjects of ethnographic studies have influenced the direction of research in many subtle or more blatant ways (see, for example, Rosaldo, 1980). To what extent will Shou Cher, as well as other informants, author this research? By proposing a life history format, I acknowledge my part in deciding what is included, what is left out, and how the story is arranged on the printed page. However, by regularly sharing relevant sections of my field notes and interview transcripts with Shou Cher, his family, and other informants, I hope to allow them to interpret the text of this life history with me, and to produce vignettes of immigrant life that are meaningful both to the Chers and to educators and policy makers. In order to create a

meaningful life history I seek to document the "circles of meaning", the everyday common sense understanding of the Chers themselves, what Geertz (1983) calls the "native's point of view."

The representation and interpretation of Shou's life history has been influenced by his reading and our discussion of various drafts of the text. Shou, perhaps because of his early training in Hmong song, enthusiastically supported the rendering of some of his oral speech as poetry. Moreover, throughout the text he added additional information or, in some cases, advocated that some information be left out. I would like to discuss two of these instances, since they illustrate both Shou's part in fashioning the research text as well as the importance he places on maintaining strong relationships within his family.

In one of our first interviews Shou recounted to me a dream he had in Chicago that influenced his decision to go to theological school. After I showed him my initial rendering of this dream as a poem, Shou told me that it some of it was missing. When I replied that I had transcribed everything on the audio tape, he brought over a marker and a drawing board and explained the dream to me again, diagramming the action from his village in the mountains, along the path through the fields, to the deep, dark jungle. After this initial explanation, he closed his eyes and, speaking rapidly, retold the dream again, adding quite a few details. When he saw the second draft of this dream, he added one more part that he said was missing: The closing dialogue between he and his wife, as they prepared to be parted until the arrival of the "second ark." Through the additions of these details the text of the dream more than doubled in length.

His chief concerns were with parts of the text that he felt might reflect badly on members of his family. Sections that he particularly wanted to edit involved episodes where his brothers did not measure up to the expectations of their father. Because of Shou's concerns, details in some of the stories concerning the relationships between his father and his brothers have been deleted.

Resourcefulness, Relationship, Respect

Shou Cher's many roles include those of husband, father to seven children, evangelical minister, Hmong community elder, and bilingual assistant and school-community liaison. For him there is a sense of continuity between his great-great-grandfather who led many Hmong people out of China in the 19th century, and himself, who led over one hundred members of his village to safety in Thailand in 1979. Although he recognizes that the Hmong people will change as society changes, Shou Cher suggests that the Hmong will keep their relationship with family and clan , their sense of respect for elders, their fellowship with other Hmong and such friends as have earned their trust, and the leadership that has brought them safely through genocidal wars to the United States. Language and certain cultural traditions and practices may change, but for Shou Cher, certain qualities of Hmong-ness are not optional. He says:

> Because the society changes, I guess most of the Hmong culture will be changed, too. No matter whether Hmong people like it or not, it has already changed. Totally changed. Even if we keep a Hmong church, I preach in my own language, we sing our songs, and when we come home we keep our culture, our way of life. I know we are changing. And Hmong always change. (But) Hmong keep one thing forever: The relationship. The relationship and the respect. Things like that you keep forever. If you lose it, then, that's it, you're gone.

The words of Shou Cher seem to indicate that his identity as a Hmong American is always changing and adapting; it is an identity based on a complex series of relationships; and, within these changes and supported by these relational ties, there is a sense of inner continuity. But this sense of continuity, for Shou, does not hinge upon the maintenance of a language or the outer trappings of a culture. Rather, it appears to hinge upon the maintenance of certain values, that are at once Hmong and American: Resourcefulness, relationship, and respect.

Resourcefulness

Resourcefulness, the ability to deal effectively with problems and difficulties, comes from the French word *resourdre*, "to arise anew."[2] Shou Cher has needed resourcefulness to

---

[2] This definition of resourcefulness, and the definitions of relationship and respect which follow, are from Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary, 2nd edition.

overcome a series of adversities in his life, including the loss of his homeland, adaptation to a new culture and language, continuing poverty, and the near loss of his own life. His ability to learn and adapt during these crises has allowed him to "arise anew" and continue. Shou Cher's resourcefulness in his lifetime of learning is perhaps an adaptation to what psychologist Robert Lifton (1993) calls our *protean* era:

> The protean self emerges from confusion, from the widespread feeling that we are losing our psychological moorings...But rather than collapse under these threats and pulls, the self turns out to be surprisingly resilient. It makes use of bits and pieces here and there and somehow keeps going...We find ourselves evolving a self of many possibilities, one that has risks and pitfalls but at the same time holds out considerable promise for the human future (1).

Much like Lifton's protean individual, Shou Cher has adapted, grown and changed with the circumstances. He is a man educated in the world as much as in schools. As a youth he learned from experience, mastering the skills for farming in the mountains and hunting in the jungle. He learned the stories of his ancestors, and such lessons from the past guided him in his entry into a complex social group, during times of war and peace.

Shou Cher's life provides evidence to support a theory of adult learning that encompasses the wide world outside of schools, and outside of the experience of people who have grown up in more technologically developed countries. Lawrence Cremin (1988) has argued that substantial education can occur through family, neighborhood, church and business, and Carol Ryff (1989) has suggested several criteria for successful aging, including self-acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, purpose in life, and personal growth. Shou Cher has exemplified these qualities in his lifetime of learning in various settings. Certainly Shou has shown his resourcefulness by taking educational opportunities that arise: He took the time to study photography when he first arrived in the refugee camps in Thailand, and this skill allowed him to document life in Laos when he returned as a revolutionary. He embraced evangelical Christianity, and as he has served the church, the church has also served him in many ways: Shou's participation with refugee camp missionaries allowed him to learn to teach and preach, to gain a modest income, and to learn English, which would facilitate his acceptance as a refugee in

the United States. Furthermore, conversion to Christianity opened the door to a larger world, and to an immediate connection with diverse peoples far beyond the Hmong homeland in Southeast Asia. Shou has taken the opportunity to continue his education, through a ministerial program that better prepared him as a preacher and in English literacy, through adult education and high school completion programs, and through daily conversations with teachers and community liaisons at the school where he works. Finally, Shou shows the resourcefulness of a hard-working Hmong American pursuing career opportunities as they arise: Despite his wounds, he was able to remind the directors of Horace Kallen school that he was interested in the community liaison job when they visited him in the intensive care ward. He pursues ministerial opportunities in various cities, and it is not uncommon for him to spend the evening of Saturday and all day Sunday commuting between far-flung communities of believers.

Yet, Shou's resourcefulness is not unique within his family or within the Hmong American community. His wife, Mai, needs this quality to work full-time *and* keep a large family together while her husband is absent, at work or on the road to a ministry. Their children also show resourcefulness as they find ways to help each other manage the transition from an immigrant home to the school and back again. Finally, the Hmong community is noteworthy for its complex network of mutual support, despite the limited income of most of the community's members. When a family arrives to Windigo, the community helps find them a house, a car, a school for the children, and a job. This type of mutual aid one often finds in refugee and immigrant groups, and there is a long history of such community support in the United States.

For Shou, however, helping others extends beyond his clan and includes the entire Hmong community. His home is a center for Hmong community activity. Every night he has visitors, many of whom stay late into the evening. He believes "it is very good to have someone who cares for you enough that they visit you." He adds:

> Helping glues us together. They respect me and I respect them. I help them with whatever I know. It is so sad within our culture and community if you know something and never help someone else. However much I know, however rich or poor I am, in my culture, you give and receive help. People will say, 'Oh, he does not need help. He does not need help.' When you pass away,

> people will say, 'Oh, he does not need help.' So those turning help away are few.

Webster's defines *clan* in this way: "In certain primitive societies, a tribal division, usually exogamous, of matrilineal or patrilineal descent from a common ancestor." Like Webster's, many of Americans like to think of tradition-rich groups such as the Hmong as *primitive*. Yet, consider what clan membership means to Shou Cher: When he needs assistance, his clan, which he also calls his *family*, is there to help him. When he travels, his clan will take him in. When he needs work, as he did when he applied to work at Horace Kallen school, his clan nominates him for a job. In return, he works for the clan, and beyond, for all the Hmong community. Acknowledging common ancestors, it is an easy step for the Hmong to refer respectfully to their unrelated kin as *uncle* or *brother*. Traditional relationships help keep the Hmong glued together, as Shou has suggested. In a wealthy nation where many Americans go hungry and homeless, and many others worry about what will happen to them and their families if they lose their jobs, or their health fails, the Hmong have a community support network that provides economic, social, and psychological support. *Which is the primitive society?*

Perhaps the traumatic changes in the life of refugees and immigrants facilitate the development of resourcefulness. Klaus Riegel (1976) has argued that significant learning occurs through the management of life crises, that development follows change. Certainly this can be seen in the case of Shou Cher. The change from leaving a life of farming in the mountains of Laos to life in a crowded refugee camp challenged Shou to find a new meaning for his existence. This meaning he found in evangelical Christianity. The change from life in Southeast Asia to a new life in America encouraged Shou's to become literate in English. The trauma of being shot and seriously wounded caused Shou to think seriously about the United States as a home, yet in the aftermath of that shooting he realized his connection to a broader group of Americans beyond the Hmong community. Like Lifton's description of the protean self, Shou Cher has moved towards species consciousness, and a sense of commonality with others.

Relationship

Relationship, a connection, comes from the Latin *referre*, "to bring back." Throughout his life history Shou Cher describes himself best when he brings back up his relationships to others. Carol Gilligan (1989) supports such a model of the "relational" self, contrasting it with the "mirrored" self so prevalent in modern psychology:

> When others are described as objects for self-reflection or as the means to self-discovery and self-recognition, the language of relationships is drained of motion and, thus, becomes lifeless (7).

In the relational self, "self is known in the experience of connection and defined not by reflection but by interaction, the responsiveness of human engagement" and "within this framework, the central metaphor of identity formation becomes dialogue rather than mirroring" (7, 17). For Gilligan, without relationships, the self ceases to exist. The value Shou Cher places on *relationship* is clear from his many stories involving history, family, community and society. Shou relates his sense of the present to stories from the past, of his great-great-grandfather, and the long struggle for freedom of the Hmong people. Significantly, Shou seems to see himself as a player in a larger story, the history of his people, and, since his conversion to Christianity, the biblical story of God's relationship to humankind.

Interestingly, Shou takes a long, generational view of family relationships, using stories of his interactions with his father and brothers to try to shed light on his relationship to his son. Significantly, Shou and Mai worry most about their children when they seem no longer interested in doing things together with the family. Shou takes seriously changes that might threaten the family relationship, as he showed when he discussed the Pathet Lao's attempt to alter husband-wife relationships in Laos.

Paradoxically, Shou's new Christian beliefs would also threaten the relationship with his family, and particularly to the spirit of his father. When his father died, Shou was living in the refugee camp, and had recently converted to Christianity. Rather than attend the spirit ceremony his family held for his father, he attended the Christmas ceremonies held by the missionaries. His uncle cursed Shou, saying that because he had denied his father's spirit, he would never be a father himself. Looking for guidance, Shou returned to the missionaries, who told him,*"God is*

your father, so don't worry." When I asked Shou if he had been able to say goodbye to his father in his own way, he replied:

> No. To the Christian theology, we don't have anything to do with that at all. Because we believe that, according to Romans, 1:19-20, anyone who has not received Jesus Christ yet, his spirit will go directly to Hell.

Shou's broken ties to those, like his father, who remained "unreached," represents the dark side of change: some relationships may be unretrievably lost.

Within the Hmong community, Shou has been an advocate for strengthening relationships within and between families, and has volunteered to organize workshops for members of his Cher clan to encourage dialogue and communication between the older and younger generations. Moreover, Shou has worked to build relationships across clans through his religious community, and between his circle of believers and those who practice traditional Hmong religion. This communitarian spirit is exemplified as much by his participation in mutual aid efforts to his willingness to pray at the bedside of non-Christians who are sick.

Finally, through his efforts as a community liaison and bilingual assistant at an elementary school, Shou encourages the development of relationships across cultures between school children, professionals, and community members. As an exponent of *making peace*, Shou shares the diverse experiences of staff members at the school and brings this knowledge of diversity to bear on his relationships with children. Today he can acknowledge that "all people are beautiful," whatever the color of their skin or the language that they speak.

Respect

The word *respect*, to notice with special attention, and treat with courtesy, comes from the Latin *respectare*, "to look behind." Respect is of central importance in the establishment and maintenance of Shou Cher's complex relationships with other people and the world. Shou Cher demonstrates a respect for his cultural and familial heritage, recalling stories about his heroic great- great- grandfather, his experiences with his own father and mother, and the Hmong traditions of Laos and America. Moreover, Shou demonstrates a respect for seemingly disparate cultural beliefs, and has the ability to incorporate tenets of Hmong tradition such as the Thunder

Angel and tenets of modern science into a larger belief system. Respect allows Shou Cher to expand his own understanding of the world, breaking down the dichotomies that some would make between "Eastern" and "Western" thought, or "superstition" and "science."

Shou shows a deep respect for education, both formal and informal, and has been active in the schools as a parent and as an educator. Since his childhood he has learned to respect both the experiential knowledge of the world and the knowledge that can be obtained through books. Both Shou and Mai take seriously their roles as primary educators of their children, assisting their children with homework when they can, and encouraging them to continue their studies even when, as parents, they no longer grasp the advanced subject matter of their children's work. Within the school where he works, Shou encourages all children to respect their teacher, the educational process, and themselves. Moreover, he encourages the children to dream, to envision themselves not as the people they are, but as the people they would like to be. Thus, in ways both implicit and explicit, he respects the transformational power of education for people's lives.

Finally, Shou has learned to respect the differences between the various cultural groups that make up his school, his neighborhood, and his country of adoption. Like many refugees living in America's impoverished inner cities, Shou has known the fear of the outsider. When he was shot near his home in Windigo, he could have given up on America and her people, and built a wall between himself and outsiders to the Hmong community. When he came from the hospital he felt homeless, alienated, and a sense that

This place belongs to someone else.
It's not my house.
I don't belong to this Earth.

Through subsequent work with the diverse staff and students at Horace Kallen school, and his own reflections, Shou has come to a different understanding of America and Americans:

Many different peoples live in the same town
black, brown, yellow
if they look a certain way, they have
their own community.
I don't deny it,
it is good to serve your own community.

Please do your best for them.
But then you should
treat others nicely, too.
black, white, brown, yellow
we are the same people.

Shou used his experience as a bilingual assistant and community liaison to come to terms with American diversity. He no longer distances himself from African Americans, Mexican Americans, and "Other" Americans, for such are the colleagues with whom he works, and the children with whom he teaches and learns. With these associations has come understanding, and this understanding has enabled Shou to play the role of *peace maker* in his school, community and society. His experience working with diverse Americans, coupled with his Christian faith, has enabled Shou to respect the beauty in all people.

Robert Bellah (1991) has suggested that a sense of respect for all people and all life must be fundamental to a renewal of the American people and American society:

> When we care only about what Toqueville called the "little circle of our family and friends" or only about people with skin the same color as ours, we are certainly not acting responsibly to create a good national society. When we care only about our own nation, we do not contribute much to a good world society. When we care only about human beings, we do not treat the natural world with the respect that it deserves (285).

Through new Americans such as Shou Cher we learn again the importance of this respect that knows no boundaries of color or nation. The values of resourcefulness, relationship and respect are 3 R's needed for the education of a new generation of Americans who can move beyond individualism to a sense of collective responsibility.

3 Rs for an American Community

Robert Lifton (1993) refers to America as the "protean nation," the nation of changefulness, and the nation most in search of itself:

> Dislocated from our beginnings, we are the home of traditional flux. Our great cultural themes (are) the ever-beckoning frontier and continuous influx of immigrants (33).

The values of resourcefulness, relationship, and respect that arise from Shou Cher's narrative offer another way to frame the discussion of the role of the school between individual,

community and society. These values are responses to individual, communal and societal needs; they allow for individual initiative as well as responsibility to the group, respect for tradition as well as flexibility when faced with powerful technological, economic and social changes. These Three Rs provide a bridge between our understanding of where we have been as Americans, where we are, and where we would go.

Living in a nation in flux, where images of the frontier and immigrant arrival have always been strong, Americans have often defined themselves more through identification of a common enemy than through common values or ideals. As Lifton (1993) suggests, recent history has shown that when we cannot define ourselves through our opposition to a common enemy, we are at a loss to describe who we are:

> Over the previous decades, whatever our deficiencies or decline, whatever wrongs we perpetrated abroad or at home, we could still view ourselves, in contrast with Soviet evil, as steady in our virtue. Denied that contrast, we find it hard to see ourselves as steady in anything (33).

For Erik Erikson (1959a), the immigrant from Germany, there was a certain clannishness present in Americans who constantly made choices between the principles of a religious and political Puritanism and an ever-shifting set of slogans:

> To leave his choices open, the American, on the whole, lives with two sets of "truths": a set of religious principles or religiously pronounced political principles of a highly puritan quality, and a set of shifting slogans, which indicate what, at a given time, one may get away with on the basis of not more than a hunch, a mood, or a notion. The same child may have been exposed in succession or alternately to sudden decisions expressing the slogans "Let's get the hell out of here," and again, "Let's stay and keep the bastards out"--to mention only two of the most sweeping ones (Erikson, 1950:287)

With the end of the Cold War identity-conscious Americans have been left with a choice: to seek out new enemies to rally against, in Panama, in Iraq, across the Mexican border, or across town, and to try and redefine ourselves in opposition to the threats, however remote, that these foes represent; or to develop an identity based on civic interaction, on making peace within our own people, and working for peace in the world.

The values of resourcefulness, relationship and respect provide a bridge to a new sense of identity for the American community, one that moves beyond individualism and the identification of an enemy to greater sense of community responsibility. Resourcefulness implies the best of individual initiative, but in service not just to oneself but to others; relationship encompasses the importance for the individual of ties to family, community, nation, and world; respect allows individuals to relate themselves to all people and all life.

Lessons From a Life

Through stories, dialogues, and lived example, Shou Cher has educated me in a variety of ways: I have learned about the importance of history, both the history of the Hmong and the American people, and how the arrival of a refugee in the United States is but the latest chapter in a relationship where the loyalty of a people came into contact with the *geopolitik* of a nation. Learning about Shou's life has taught me that religion and literacy can be a powerful combination, and has reminded me of the traumatic change a new religion can bring to a family and community relationship. As a father of two small children, Shou's stories have encouraged me to reconsider my role as a parent, and to learn from my memories as a child. I have been educated about the tremendous store of knowledge and wisdom that can be found in new Americans like Shou Cher. Finally, Shou Cher has shown me through his life that one can make peace with other Americans by listening to, and respecting, all of their histories. In a way, I, too, have become a *new American*, with new hopes for a nation that contains persons with the wisdom of Shou Cher.

Because of their potential for representing life experiences, deepening understanding and connecting the individual story to societal contexts, I believe that narratives such as Shou Cher's have powerful lessons for us all. In the paragraphs below I would like to talk about some possible lessons from this life history for researcher, educators, policymakers, and all Americans.

Lessons for Researchers

How does one approach the authenticity of autobiography in the writing of the life of another? Writing the life history of Shou Cher has caused me to reflect deeply on this question.

So many differences of culture, language background, religious conviction, and income (to name a few) could potentially separate us, and prevent me from truly understanding his life and its meaning. Yet, I felt that if we approached this writing of a life as a dialogue in search of common ground--as fathers, as educators, as Americans--the authenticity would arise from our reflections together.

This dialogue is often represented in the text by presenting a story by Shou, followed by my commentary. Yet, my commentary has been influenced by Shou's reading of drafts of this work, just as his stories are influenced by my questions. In short, the prose, poetry and interpretation of this text is a product of our research relationship. Researchers must show their value for the relationship that they establish with informants by respecting their words, their interpretations and their theories. In this way researchers have the opportunity to reexamine their own theories as well as their own voice. By going over drafts of this work with Shou Cher, I not only was able to clarify words, themes, and theories; I was also able to get a sense of the respect that Shou Cher has for the process of sharing a life history, and for the importance he finds in passing along this story of himself, his family, and his Hmong community to a wider audience.

To represent the emotive power of Shou's narrative I have rendered it at times as poetry:

Black, white, brown, yellow
we are the same people.
We are different in skin only,
but we are all human.
We are the same, created by God,
one creator,
and it is very beautiful.
Different colors, and very beautiful.

I believe that researchers must learn to value the artistry in the voice of the informant, and to show that value in the way that they represent voices of others in the content and form of the text. This life history of Shou Cher has been in part a search for ways to bring the vitality and the aesthetic quality of oral narratives into the written form. Brunner (1994) has called for such a return to the aesthetic:

> We need a new vision, and I believe as others that part of that vision can occur through the systematic use of aesthetic materials--materials that allow for an opening onto educational theory, social

> theory, and critical practice, materials that allow for imagining our world as it could be otherwise (236).

Researchers who wish to add authenticity to their work and broaden its scope and audience should consider alternatives to the dry prose of many social science texts which squeeze the life out of words.

This life history of Shou Cher also suggests the value of the immigrant home as a locus for educational research. By examining the learning taking place in the home, researchers can challenge common assumptions about "cultural deficits". For example, Shou Cher lacks formal education, yet he contributes to his family and the larger community in educationally significant ways. Moreover, educational life histories that focus on learning within family contexts could be ideal for exploring issues of life span and inter-generational learning.

Through this life history research, the voice of a member of the Hmong community could be brought into the public discourse about education. Of course, such an approach to educational life history could also be of research relevance to other people in American society whose voices need to be heard. Lincoln (1993) suggests that by writing narratives of the *silenced*, new avenues can be opened for social scientists. The study of lives can lead to developments in grounded theories. Moreover, by including the protagonists in the construction of their own narratives, narrative inquirers can gain multivocality and authority of voice. Such multivocality is needed in educational circles, as many teachers and policymakers have little personal experience of the daily struggle faced by poor students and their families, and the voices of such families and students are rarely heard when educational policy is being formulated. Narratives have the power to bring these voices to the attention of educators and policymakers.

Lessons for Educators

Shou Cher has no teaching certificate, no college degree, no high school diploma. Yet, he is a valued member of a teaching staff at an elementary school that is noteworthy for its work with diverse children. His educational expertise comes from life experiences: Into his work as a bilingual assistant he brings knowledge of four languages, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, and English, and a lifetime of moving between cultures. In the classroom and in his work as a community

liaison he brings years of experiences teaching and working with a Christian ministry, and values of hard work, responsibility to community and respect for all people that reflect both his religious convictions and Hmong traditions.

Shou Cher's narrative reminds us that tremendous cultural resources exist in the homes and communities of diverse students. Through his work in the school and community, Shou has entered the cultural conversation, and America is renewed by his contribution to our ongoing dialogue. Parents and community members such as Shou are key players in the lives of immigrant children, showing them that learning in the school and in the home is related, and that their identities as children need not be fragmented into *public* and *private* spheres. Rather, as Leonard Covello (1958) illustrated half a century ago at a high school in East Harlem, children can learn at school how to respect, and transform themselves and their communities. By acknowledging the rich cultural resources of immigrant parents and children, schools can include them in the American experience, offering a sense of belonging to youths who might otherwise try to find themselves by dropping out or joining gangs.

Teachers can draw on the cultural resources of parents and students, thereby enriching the curriculum and school life. Moll and Greenberg (1990) have shown that extending the "zones of knowledge" from the school into families and communities has definite implications for curriculum and instruction. Moreover, in order to better understand the "circles of meanings" (Rabinow and Sullivan, 1987) reflected in the lives of new Americans, teachers, too, must learn to think and act as interpreters and biographers of their students: The study of life stories provides both a format for teacher--student relationships, such as Walker-Moffat (1995) recommends for "family-based multicultural education", as well as a location for continual professional development. Teacher education, then, must not only expose pre-service and continuing teachers to the lives of new Americans, but must provide them the conceptual and methodological tools to better understand those lives.

Witherell and Noddings (1991) suggest that narratives are central to the work of teachers and counselors, allowing one to penetrate cultural barriers, discover one's "self" and the "other,"

and deepen understanding. Let me give an example of how a good narrative might facilitate deeper understanding from my own experience. I have used Kotlowitz's (1991) There are No Children Here, the story of two African-American boys growing up in Chicago's housing projects, with classes of pre-service teachers who are largely European-American and who grew up mostly in small towns and suburbs. Students usually find Kotlowitz's well-documented "story" very meaningful, and challenging to some of their pre-existing ideas about race, class and educational opportunity. Works such as There are No Children Here moves the reader raise ethical questions: Why does the drug trade appear to be one of the few economic alternatives in many poor urban neighborhoods? Why must children dodge bullets on a school playground? Why do many members of our society want to demonize "welfare mothers" and their children rather than address the social and economic reasons for their poverty and marginalization?

Similarly, moral questions arise from Shou Cher's narrative. What responsibility does the American government and society have for refugees, many of whom are here as a direct result of American military activity abroad? As educators of all children, what responsibility do schools have for reaching out to all parents, especially those who do not speak the dominant language? What is the place for spirituality in the public schools? How should schools prepare the next generation of citizens for America and the world? Good narratives cause the reader to ask such moral questions. They enable educators to engage students and others in the "realm of practical ethics" on the mutual "quest for goodness and meaning" (Witherell and Noddings, 1991:4).

Lessons for Policymakers

Shou Cher has a long memory, and because remembrances of things past help to guide him in his life and work today, his life history contains many stories from the past: How the Hmong people lost their land by the Yellow River or in the mountains of northern Laos, how they lost, and regained, their *books*, how they have ever supported those whom they have trusted, even when this trust was betrayed--such stories from the past provide Shou with a framework for

analyzing his world today. The life history of Shou Cher could provide policymakers with a framework for a better understanding of the educational lives of new Americans.

A narrative approach to the study of immigrant education can contribute to an understanding of how historical conceptualizations of immigrants have led to certain educational policies, and how these policies, in turn, have impacted the lives of immigrant families. Narratives of immigrant educational lives in the 1990s offer ways in which to study how changing bilingual, multicultural, and social welfare policies continue to impact immigrant families. The autobiographical writings of Richard Rodriguez (1982) and Leonard Covello (1958) have influenced our understanding of policies ranging from bilingual education to tracking. Policymakers, who often rely on generalized concepts of immigrants and their needs, could use the life history of a Hmong immigrant to become more aware of the individual complexity and variety of the most recent generation of new Americans, and how their needs are changing with the shifting social and economic contexts in American life.

This life history also suggests ways in which school management policies could move beyond the *discipline and punish* metaphor to one of *making peace*. In settings such as Horace Kallen school where many ethnicities and languages are represented, the expanded use of community liaisons can facilitate the peace making process. Policymakers need to think again about the teaching of values in schools. Without the values of resourcefulness, relationship and respect, learned and practiced in schools, we can expect many youths to continue to drop out and turn elsewhere in their search for understanding and a sense of belonging. McLaughlin and Heath (1993) argue that myths about teenagers from inner-city schools--that can't be trusted, that they are lazy, that they are beyond redemption, just to name a few--discourage youths from becoming involved in positive ways in their communities. Instead, such myths "convey disrespect and preclude the empowering strategies essential to youth's productive development" (235). By building relationships between teachers, students and their families, respecting all students and allowing them room to develop their resourcefulness in creative, cooperative ways,

schools can teach children from an early age that they are valued members of a community, and that their help is needed in building a better life for all.

One way which this life history suggests for making peace between the school and various communities is to the use of liaisons. Clearly, having a person who is an insider with a community and can speak the *language* of the community is necessary to foster the holistic growth of children, families, and communities, with the help of schools. Such was Leonard Covello's dream in East Harlem: To use the school as a means for bettering the lives of all members of the community, to truly make it community-centered. No parent should feel alienated from the life of schools. Bilingual, minority educators such as Shou Cher can benefit themselves and others through reflection on their personal and family histories (Galindo and Olguin, 1996). Moreover, these life narratives contain values, such as resourcefulness, relationship, and respect, that are urgently needed in schools for the education of all children into the life of a multicultural society.

The life history of Shou Cher also challenges educational policymakers to reconsider the individualistic philosophy that often underlies schooling in our democracy. Resourcefulness, relationship and respect can provide the foundation for building *social capital* in the United States. Putnam (1995) defines social capital as the human networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. He cites cross-national evidence of the value of social capital for fostering reciprocity and encouraging collaboration, resolving collective dilemmas, and broadening "the participants' sense of self, developing the 'I' into the 'we'" (67). He argues that America suffers from declining social capital, citing declining membership in social and civic organizations and lack of civic participation, and suggests that we must find ways to "reverse the adverse trends in social connectedness, thus restoring civic engagement and civic trust" (77). By focusing on the development of social capital rather than individual achievement, policymakers must find ways to encourage the development of a democratic and cooperative citizenship in schools.

Michael Walzer (1990) has said that "Americans have homesteads and homefolks and hometowns"--and, we should add, homeboys--"but they don't have much to say about a common or communal home" (592-593). As a newcomer who has engaged in his own personal struggle to find a home in America, Shou Cher offers a lesson for all Americans who would make peace with themselves and their communities. We must reject messages and policies that are founded in fear and mistrust, and learn how to live with all the diverse citizens of our nation and our planet. We need each other, and we need to learn how to value the contributions that all members of society can make. Shou Cher's values of resourcefulness, relationship and respect represent the best of Hmong and American traditions and offer us a pathway to unity. These 3 R's, if taken seriously in school and society, offer hope for making peace in a diverse society, a peace whose foundation is tolerance of difference. By listening to, and valuing, the voices of newcomers like Shou Cher, America renews herself, and moves forward towards the realization of a dream: *e pluribus unum,* out of many, one.

References

Bakhtin , M., 1981. The Dialogic Imagination. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Becker, H., 1970. Sociological Work. Chicago: Aldine.

Bellah, R., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W., Swidler, A., and Tipton, S., 1985. Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life. New York: Harper & Row.

Bellah, R., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W., Swidler, A., and Tipton, S., 1991. The Good Society. New York: Harper and Row.

Bruner, J., 1990. Acts of Meaning. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Brunner, D., 1994. Inquiry and Reflection: Framing Narrative Practice in Education. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Chan, S. (ed.), 1994. Hmong Means Free: Life in Laos and America. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Clandinin, D. and Connelly, F., 1994. Personal Experience Methods. In Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (Eds.), Handbook of Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 413-427.

Clausen, J., 1993. American Lives: Looking Back at Children of the Great Depression. New York: Free Press.

Clifford, J., 1988. The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Coles, R., 1964. Children of Crisis: A Study of Courage and Fear. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Covello, L., 1958. The Heart is the Teacher. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Crapanzano, V., 1980. Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cremin, L., 1988. American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876-1980. New York: Harper & Row.

Denzin, N., 1994. The Art and Poltics of Interpretation. In Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (Eds.), Handbook of Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 500-515.

Donnelly, N., 1994. Changing Lives of Refugee Hmong Women. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Erikson, E., 1950. Childhood and Society. New York: W.W. Norton.

Erikson, E., 1959a. Identity and the Life Cycle. New York: W.W. Norton.

Erikson, E., 1962. Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History. New York: W.W. Norton.

Galindo, R., and Olguin, M., 1996. Reclaiming Bilingual Educators' Cultural Resources: An Autobiographical Approach. Urban Education, 31(1), 29-56.

Gardner, H., 1993. Creating Minds: An Anatomy of Creativity Seen Through the Lives of Freud, Einstein, Picasso, Stravinsky, Eliot, Graham, and Gandhi. New York: Basic Books.

Geertz, C., 1983. Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology. New York: Basic Books.

Gilligan, C., (Ed.), 1988. Mapping the Moral Domain: A Contribution of Women's Thinking to Psychological Theory and Education. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A., 1967. The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Grumet, M., 1991. The Politics of Personal Knowledge. In Witherell, C. and Noddings, N. (Eds.), Stories Lives Tell: Narrative and Dialogue in Education, 67-77. New York: Teachers College Press.

Kotlowitz, A., 1991. There are No Children Here: The Story of Two Boys Growing Up in the Other America. New York: Doubleday.

Lifton, R., 1993. The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an Age of Fragmentation. New York: Basic Books.

Lincoln, Y., 1993. I and Thou: Method, Voice, and Roles in Research with the Silenced. In McLaughlin, D. and Tierney, W. (Eds.), Naming Silenced Lives: Personal Narratives and Processes for Educational Change, 29-47. New York: Routledge.

McBeth, S. and Horne, E., 1996. "I Know Who I Am": The Collaborative Life History of a Shoshone Indian Woman. In G. Etter-Lewis and M. Foster (Eds.), Unrelated Kin: Race and Gender in Women's Personal Narratives. New York: Routledge.

McLaughlin, M. and Heath, S., 1993. Casting the Self: Frames for Identity and Dilemmas for Policy. In M. McLaughlin and S. Heath (Eds.), Identity and Inner-City Youth: Beyond Ethnicity and Gender, 210-239. New York: Teachers College Press.

Mills, C.W., 1959. The Sociological Imagination. New York: Oxford University Press.

Moll, L. and Greenberg, J., 1990. Creating Zones of Possibilities: Combining Social Contexts for Instruction. In L. Moll (Ed.), Vygotsky and Education: Instructional Implications for Applications of Sociohistorical Psychology, 319-348. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Phillips, D., 1994. Telling It Straight: Issues in Assessing Narrative Research. Educational Psychologist, 29(1), 13-21.

Polkinghorne, D., 1995. Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis. In Hatch, J. and Wisniewski, R. (Eds.), Life History and Narrative. Bristol, PA: Falmer, 5-23.

Putnam, R., 1995. Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital. Journal of Democracy, 6(1), 65-78.

Rabinow, P., 1977. Reflections on Fieldwork in Morrocco. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Rabinow, P., and Sullivan, W., 1987. The Interpretive Turn: A Second Look. In Rabinow and Sullivan (Eds.), Interpretive Social Science: A Second Look., 1-30. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Riegel, K., 1976. The Dialectics of Human Development. American Psychologist, 31(10), 689-700.

Rodriguez, R., 1982. Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez. New York: Bantam.

Rosaldo, R., 1980. Ilongot Headhunting 1883-1974: A Study in Society and History. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ruth, J. and Oberg, P., 1992. Expressions of Aggression in the Life Stories of Aged Women. In Bjorkquist, K. and Neimela, P. (Eds.), Of Mice and Women: Aspects of Female Aggression, 133-146. San Diego: Academic.

Ryff, C., 1989. Beyond Ponce de Leon and Life Satisfaction: New Directions in Quest of Successful Aging. International Journal of Behavioral Development, 12(1), 35-55.

Santoli, A., 1988. New Americans: An Oral History. New York: Viking.

Sarris, G., 1993. Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American Indian Texts. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sarris, G., 1994. Mabel McKay: Weaving the Dream. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Smith, L., 1994. Biographical Method. In Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (Eds.), Handbook of Qualitative Research, 286-305. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Terkel, S., 1972. Working. New York: Avon.

Ungar, S., 1995. Fresh Blood: The New American Immigrants. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Walker-Moffat, W., 1995. The Other Side of the Asian American Success Story. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Walzer, M., 1990. What Does It Mean to be an "American"? Social Research, 57(3), 591-614.

White, R., 1952. Lives in Progress. New York: Dryden.

Witherell, C. and Noddings, N. (Eds.), 1994. Stories Lives Tell: Narrative and Dialogue in Education. New York: Teachers College Press.